1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have. 423

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supporting friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages. 581 185

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly. 185 577 581

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope. 185 581 826

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaus* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes. [304] [881]

[43 cont.]

423 614 769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

[761] The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is 752 757 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like instrument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg 278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those [826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by [753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to [755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[526] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
362 the toenails are often fissured.

192 827 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//gha*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 827 843 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

[845 847]

821 787 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 826 [827] *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

[713]

775 821 826 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399-401.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The same informant gave more information about ' making cloud '. He said:[1] 821
' And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, ' that it (thus) happens to us if we 775
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade "; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall ' sitting green in the sky ', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching 869
old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair ' gives '. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain ' fears ' it. (*Koa*, the word ' to fear ', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about 723
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice 623
of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

all our food and water, gasoline, and equipment in supplies to last us for several months. We crossed great drought areas, once crossing four hundred miles of the central desert of Bechuanaland where there was no water at all, and once traveling every day for two weeks into an unmapped part of the desert of South-West Africa, close to the Bechuanaland border, where we found a waterhole and refilled our empty drums. All this was for the purpose of filming and studying the life and customs of the people of the Kalahari, who are called the Bushmen.

Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned; the only feature they have in common with their large-boned, darker-skinned neighbors, the Negro or Bantu tribes living at the edges of the Bushmen's territory, is their peppercorn curly hair. Otherwise, Bushmen are very like the Asian peoples, often having Mongolian eyefolds and rather broad, flat faces with almost no noses at all. Because of the dust, perspiration, and the blazing sun, their skins darken to a copper brown, but under their arms where sweat has washed the dust away the yellow skin shows. Bushman babies, in fact, are born pale pink, often with a dark, pigmented area at the base of their spines which Kung Bushmen call "the jar"—because, they say, the mother carries her baby and her water jar together in the pouch of her garment—but which we know as the Mongolian Spot.

Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature—a man being a few inches over and a woman a few inches under five feet—and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of women because it was both improper and dangerous and would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

like sweat to all the body.He did not understand what the lungs did, or that air went into them, or that air went through the trachea. Breathing, said Ukwane, is air going down into the stomach, where it makes belches. Ukwane did not know about the circulation of the blood, believing that blood ebbs and flows, nor did he recognize pulses in the body except the pulse at the V of the throat, noticeable in people who wear little clothing, which is known as "the place of the heart."

The cold night had come, and Ukwane in the frosty grass was shivering, yet he sat for an hour keeping his patience, putting his hands into the cold blood of the springbok to trace veins to their source, prefacing all his answers with positive, qualifying remarks. "I am an old man," he would say, "and I know that the diaphragm separates the heart and lungs from the stomach," or "I am Ukwane, and I know that when the heart is gone the animal cannot live, or a person either, because the heart is that animal's life."

As the dissection and the conversation went on, the three young boys, joined occasionally by Nhwakwe, the baby, played games all the time, creeping in between the adults to warm themselves by the fire and by the heat of bodies when they could stand the cold no longer. If you wear no clothing your skin is sensitive to very slight changes of temperature, and even the warmth of someone sitting beside you or the heat radiated by a few coals makes a lot of difference. When the young boys were thawed they would again leap into the darkness to play some more. They played a game of horse and rider, in which one boy would leap astride another boy and ride without holding on while the other boy would stagger forward as fast as he could. In a moment, both would fall, jump up again, hitch up their loincloths, and resume the game, only this time the horse would jump on the back of

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Eyes-on-His-Feet

539

≠*Gao/na*'s younger brother-in-law, his *tsu/gama*, was named Eyes-on-His-Feet. He and ≠*Gao/na* went together to gather veldkos. They found *//karu*. After a time they came to a place where they wanted to stay and made a fire to roast the *//karu*. While they were sitting by the fire ≠*Gao/na* watched his *tsu/gama*'s feet and saw what looked like eyes. He tossed dust on them and the eyes blinked. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'These are really his eyes. His face is just smooth. His eyes are on his feet.' ≠*Gao/na* then asked the *tsu/gama* to lean over and press the *//karu* down into the ashes so that they would be all covered and would roast evenly. While the *tsu/gama* was doing this, ≠*Gao/na* threw coals on his feet and burned his eyes. This weakened the *tsu/gama* and ≠*Gao/na* was easily able to cover him all over with coals and roast him. While the *tsu/gama* was roasting there was a sound, *tsi i its ii tsi ii* (like meat sizzling), and the *tsu/gama* put a magic curse on ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth. When the *tsu/gama* was well roasted, ≠*Gao/na* ate all he could of him and put what he could not eat into a bag. He then tried to eat the *//karu*. He put one up to his mouth but his mouth would not open. He took another. It fell down to the side. ≠*Gao/na* could neither speak nor eat. He put the *//karu* into the bag with the remains of the *tsu/gama* and went back to his people in the werf and ordered them to make a dance to cure his mouth. He danced and danced with them and treated himself. While he was dancing, his wives took his bag and ate what was left of Eyes-on-His-Feet and all the *//karu* but one. [The story makes no point of the fact that they were eating their brother, albeit unknowingly, and one feels the omission hovering on the edge of being said.] Then they filled the bag with earth and put the *//karu* on top. Suddenly ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth was cured. He went to get his bag to finish his *tsu/gama*, put in his hand, took some earth, and tossed it into his mouth. He spat and swore at his wives. 'You silly women,' he said, 'what have you done?' And he thought what he would do to them. Next evening he called for another dance. A woman got up to dance but ≠*Gao/na* said, 'No, I want a good singer to dance with me, not you.' At last ≠Tamsa, the wife who had put the earth in the bag, got up to dance. She danced around ≠*Gao/na*, he danced around her, and when she came near he beat her fiercely on the stomach with his stick, until her stomach hung down below her groin. She fell unconscious and all the other wives took her and ran away and treated and treated her, crying, until she was all right. This is why Bushmen have stomachs that hang down. [826]

≠Toma and /Qui thought this was an awful story. /Qui said he did not know why ≠*Gao/na* ate his *tsu/gama*. He thought the reason could not have been mere hunger—after all, /Qui pointed out, he had *//karu*. There must have been some other reason. ≠Toma said, '≠*Gao/na* is evil. Even now he goes about killing people.' [911]

In another version the awfulness of eating a human being is modified by having Eyes-on-His-Feet come to life again. During the dance, ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach began to ache and make sounds and to swell, as with severe constipation. Suddenly it burst open and Eyes-on-His-Feet sprang out, as the wives had done after their laughter, whole and alive. In still another version ≠*Gao/na* turns ≠Tamsa into a bird called *chue*, a white and yellow bird about as big as a dove. This is one of the birds which the /Kung eat. They grab it in tree-holes when it is nesting. All my efforts to learn more about the possible identity of Eyes-on-His-Feet availed nothing. I wondered if he were not originally some veldkos, for instance, with a formation that suggested eyes, or an animal turned into a human being, or personified, like the paouw, but our /Kung informants did not know. The old people had not told them.

When my inquiries suggested to my informants that I expected them, possibly, to [154]